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The Impact of Insurgency Attacks on National Security in Nigeria

By

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Abstract

Terrorism is a global phenomenon and a major threat to national and international security and stability affecting the global security structure in World today. Terror act, however, assumes historic specific dimensions in different regions with different style of attacks that are threat to security of every country experiencing these attacks. Nigeria has been experiencing hard times as a result of the emergence of a terrorist group known as Boko Haram. The terrorist group embarked on a violent struggle in the northern region, particularly the North eastern geo-political zone. It claims an overshadowing of Islamic values and principles by western ideology and orientation in northern Nigeria. The terrorist group engaged in various terrorist activities like bombing, arson, robbery to demonstrate their anger against the region and Nigeria as a whole. The paper would use secondary data to review various publications presented on the subject matter to give direction on how to solve the problem of insurgency in Nigeria, Secondarily, this paper is an attempt to give correct understanding of terrorism and national security and how government would use various methods and strategies not only application of Military approach but adopting other appropriate method like traditional institutions engagement, engagement of Islamic Scholars, engaging local community security network, opening doors for peaceful dialogue and the conduct of good governance that would be open, accountable, responsible and transparent to the peoples that voted them in to power as a best way of curbing the insurgency dilemma in Nigeria.

Keywords: *Insurgency, Terrorist, National Security, Northern Region.*

Introduction

Terrorism is a global phenomenon and a major threat to national and international security and stability. Terror act, however, assumes historic specific dimensions in different regions. Nigeria has been experiencing hard times as a result of the emergence of a terrorist group known as Boko Haram. The terrorist group embarked on a violent struggle in the northern region, particularly the North eastern geo-political zone. It claims an overshadowing of Islamic values and principles by western ideology and orientation in northern Nigeria. The terrorist group engaged in various terrorist activities like bombing, arson, robbery, and the like to demonstrate their anger against the region and Nigeria as a whole. This paper is an attempt for a correct understanding of terrorism and national security and correct identification of terrorist groups would help Nigerian government implement effective strategies to combat the growing menace through the security agencies of the Nigerian state. However, another point to emphasize here is that no society can live in peace and enjoy socialization process without functional effective security structure in place; this security action should be a complement from both state and society at large.

Terrorism which has become a global phenomenon is a deliberate and systematic use of violence to destroy, kill, maim and intimidate the innocent in order to achieve a goal or draw national/international attention or demands which ordinarily may be impossible or difficult to achieve under normal political negotiation or on the battle field against a government army. Terrorism whether internationalized or localized is always politically motivated. Though it may also show other auxiliary motives include religion, economic or social reasons. These motives constitute the ideology of a case for which terrorism seeks solution or sympathy of all terrorist groups that have ravaged Nigeria. The Boko Haram is undoubtedly the most blood thirsty and destructive both in terms of its demonic brutality, mindless savagery and increasingly in scope of operation (Obioma, 2009). From Harmless group of 12 has in recent times increased to more than 10,000 violent members (Akpan et al, 2012). According to Innocent and Ibietan (2012) "Boko Haram is an indigenous salafist group which turned itself into a salafist Jihadist in 2009. The group was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri with the aim of establishing a Sharia government in Borno State under former Governor Ali Modu Sheriff. He established a religious complex that included a Mosque and a school where many poor families from across Nigeria and from neighbouring countries enrolled their children". From the beginning, the group made its manifest known: Rejection of western education, institutions, and agencies that go with it, including government institutions. It prefer to have a sharia law applied all over the country, but if that is difficult to grant, they would rather have a separate Islamic state carved out of Nigeria, where they can practice their religion unhindered. If this is not granted Nigeria will be made ungovernable. Government saw these demands as treasonable, unreasonable and unacceptable and in an attempt to purge the group of its excesses their leader Mohammed Yusuf died in 2009 from that year onwards under the assumption of a new leader named Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram reinvented violence and began what can best be described as the bombardment of Northern Nigeria with such frequency and intensity that are quite unprecedented in history of violence in Nigeria. Those who escape death by day, sleep

with one eye open by night. The Boko Haram has created widespread tension across Northern Nigeria and between various ethnic communities, interrupted commercial activities, frightens investors and generated concerns among Nigerians northern neighbours. This unprecedented state of terrorism by the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria has ruined the tranquility of the northern atmosphere and high rate of insecurity pervading northern region in particular and the nation/Nigeria in general is alarming and is a cause for serious concern to well meaning Nigerians. It is for this reason that this paper is set and aimed at speculating the possible negative effect of Boko Haram terrorist activities on the economy of Northern Nigeria and by extension Nigeria.

Available literature on terrorism have differentiated between different types of armed groups, freedom fighters and liberation groups from international terrorist groups. Some scholars like Peterson (2012) and Anderson (2014) argued about how one can pin point the point at which an armed groups begin to display terrorist traits. This is based on the assumption that not all terrorist groups begins as terrorist groups. For instance, when looking at the evolution of Al-Shabbab, it evolved as an off-shoot of the Islamic Court Union which splintered in to several smaller factions after its defeat in 2006 by the Somali Transitional Federal Government and the Ethiopian military allies. The Islamic Court Union was its self a group of Sharia Courts who united themselves to form a rival administration to the Transition Federal Government after the collapse of the Somali government in 1991. Similarly, the National Liberation Army of Colombia founded in 1964, was headed by a series of Roman Catholic priests of Liberations Theology.

In June 2012, the States Department of the United States of America designated three Nigerians of the Boko Haram sect as specially Designated Global Terrorists. These men were Abubakar Shekau, Abubakar Adam Kambar and Khalid Al-Barnawi known to be prominent members of the sect. Abubakar Shekau was identified as the most visible of the group's leaders and the two other men were accused of having closed links with Al-Qa'ida. Even though, the Obama administration acknowledged these individuals as parties to terrorist activity, it however stopped short of designating Boko Haram as a foreign terrorists organization only to confirm its links with Al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb and Al-Shabab in Somalia. The listing of the three Nigerians was the first step by the United States of American's administration against the threat that Boko Haram has posed to international security. While the USA's States Department provided little insight as to why the Boko Haram was not considerate for foreign terrorism organization designation, some Nigerian observers contended that it was due to its difference from other International Terrorist Groups and because designation would discourage political solution. Although this explanation does not justify the acts of the group, it does raise an important question; at what point should a violent group be categorized as a terrorist organization globally. Despite the huge amount of money allocated to security and the unaccounted for security votes of state governments, the police and other security agencies are yet to clamp down on the terrorist. The situation is escalating as the forces behind the deadly activities are gaining momentum and more grounds, spreading to other states in the north. This time, it is no longer a conflict between Muslims and Christians or ethnic conflict or of the north and south but essentially terrorist attacks. The justification for this paper based on the issue of how terrorism

became a dominant theme in Nigeria and the passive nature of the Nigerian government in tackling the menace.

Concept of Terrorism

Terrorism is a phenomenon that has raised many actions, feelings and perceptions among people. Such perceptions flow from outright condemnation to fervent justification of the action. This is usually based on such factors as the moral conviction and experiences of the person whose stand point is being expressed. Terrorism has also been projected as a form of religions orthodoxy. It has also been conceived as a means to achieve equity and equality from a constraining social and political class; hence the popular parlance that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". Terrorism is therefore, seen from several mirrors. While scholars face this challenge from harmonious definition of terrorism, the international community, including states and intergovernmental organizations have not fared any better. Yet, this has not stopped them from taking position and spelling out sanctions against it. For example, in explaining this lack of definitional consensus within the United Nations Security Council, Ben (2014) pointed out that "the council has also regarded (any) act of terrorism as a threat to peace and security regardless of its sovereignty, or international effects. Yet, the council failed to define terrorism until late 2004, despite using it as an operative legal concept with serious consequences for individuals and entities". The definition that emanated from United Nations Security Council in 2005 defined in 2005 defined terrorism as;

> *criminal act, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act (Logan, 2010).*

This seeming progress in the United Nations notwithstanding, states and other bodies maintain different standpoint in defining terrorism. A clear example is the definition contained in the United States Federal Criminal Code in which terrorism is construed as criminal act and is defined as:

> *Terrorism are activities that involve violence or life-threatening acts that are a violation of te criminal laws of the United States or of any states and appear to be intended (ii) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence policy of a government by intimidation or coercion ; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.*

The multiplicity of definitions of terrorism has implications for individual and institutional analysis. This easily leads to imbalances in the perceptions of people. Nearly all acts involving violence are confused with terrorism. Acts like insurgencies may be well intentioned movements

that seek to promote favourable change, reduction of marginalization among others are dealt with as terrorist matters. Governments as a result may make the mistake of approaching such tenable cases of insurgency with intolerance and use of unwarranted force rather than resorting to peaceful dialogue and addressing issues that make for violent acts by people who will otherwise seek peace. This inappropriate government reaction may sometimes force some agitating groups to take up arms and engage in guerrilla combats against government security forces. Terrorism does not occur in a vacuum just as terrorists do not operate in complete isolation. Most terrorists operate within existing national and international links. The links enable cross-fertilization f ideas, training funds and even transfer of technological equipment to carry out their actions. When analyzing the spread of terrorism in the Middle East, Philip (2004) hinted that "far more than street demonstrations is what goes on beneath the suffice, where terrors cells grow and produce much faster than the world's most powerful army or intelligence network can hunt them down.

Terrorism has evolved overtime and assumed brooder and more dangerous dimensions. Terrorism now evolve the participation of individuals who are neither lacking in functional education, nor completely alienated from the social banquet and these people from various sects are mostly drive their acts to gain publicity particularly in this era of scoop-hungry media. Terrorism does not occur in a particular traditional manner. Acts of terrorism range from the degree of threat and the causalities inflected. Popular among such activities are hijacking, bombing, hostage taking, arsons and fire bombings, cyber terrorism and random shooting in target areas. Steward (2012) pointed out that terrorism does not discriminate between races, cultures or faiths. So pervasive is terrorism with its attendant casualties that it has become a growing scourge and threat to international peace and security. By whatever means it is carried out, acts of terrorism most times do not affect the enemy directly rather, innocent victims are made to the unsolicited price for terrorist attacks. Such victimization often fuel emotions that are capable of exaggeration perceptions about the degree of the attack via rumors and heighted fear that spreads like wide fire. The implication of ensuing pervasive fear is the waning of public confidence in the government's ability to ensure their security and the magnification of feelings of vulnerability and insecurity to the joy of the terrorists. Victims of terrorist attack are therefore the necessary means to the ends of publicity and widespread anxiety.

Several factors create opportunities for terrorist activities to thrive as a serious threat to individual and state survival. Logan (2010) identified this causal nexus as modernity. He stated that "modernity brings people together so that they are more easily attacked". The impact of modernism is such that nations no longer exist in isolation and are linked in every way possible by the advancements of human civilization. This advancement of civilization is popularly identified as globalization has led to the development and spread of more sophisticated arms, porosity of borders and even the exacerbation of poverty and armed conflicts. This is in line with the popular assertion that every epoch is pregnant with the seeds of its own destruction.

Political Issues on Terrorism

In the study of international relations, there are many terms that are sensitive in nature due to the high volume of debate which surround them. "Terrorism" is one of such political terms. Similarly "terrorism is a word very often used very loosely, to an extent that its meaning has developed and expended over the years. But before a term like terrorism is infused in to state policy, it usually requires some form of elaboration to avoid misconceptions in a bid to lend clarity to the definition, numerous definition and perception of terrorism and what constituted a terrorist organization have been created. It is for this reason many security studies scholars like Buzan (2012), Edward (2013) have stated that the term is problematic in many ways. One explanation states that this is because it lacks a formal, internationally-mandated definition. This has come as a result of the need for the state government to cooperate and exercise jurisdiction over areas known to be hotbeds for "terrorist" activity such as Afghanistan, Somalia, Mali, Yemen, Syria among others. The implication of non involvement would mean the spread of such activities across neighbouring and non neighbouring states. It thus becomes vital to have all stakeholders fully on-board to ensure the success of any operation seeking to dismantle terrorist infrastructures. With a formal definition of "terrorism" available, states may be much more inclined to cooperate (Steward, 2012).

Since the early 2003, the United Nations General Assembly has been attempting to define the term with little success. All through the result led to the creation of the current resolutions on United Nations Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, areas of uncertainty still remain. Almost a decade before the convention, United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 49/60 Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism" which contained a provision describing terrorism. Since its adoption in 1994, United Nations Member States have been unable to agree-upon a single definition of terrorism, which has been a major obstacle to meaningful international counter-measures. In absence of a universal definition of terrorism and what constitute a terrorist and a terrorist organization. There exists multiple definitions which at times conflict. Terminology consensus is necessary for a single comprehensive convention on terrorism, which some countries favour in place of the present conventions and protocols. Similarly, other international institutions have jumped on board, in searching for deeper clarity in to the term. The Arab convention for the suppression of terrorism, adopted by the council of Arab ministers of the interior and the council ministers of Justice in Cairo, Egypt in 1999 defines terrorism as "any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purpose, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installation or property or to occupy or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources". The European Union defines terrorism for legal/official purpose in article 1 of the framework decision on combating terrorism (Andrew, 2011). This provides that terrorist offences are criminal offences which are set out in a list that comprised largely serious offence against person and property. These include intimidation; preventing a government or international organization from performing any act;

and destabilizing the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization. The inability of states government to reach a compromise at the international level has in effect affected the possibility of exercising jurisdictions over areas known to be hot bit for terrorist activity such as Yemen and Syria. At the national level, states have developed their definitions of terrorism. However, the issue here is whether, or to what extent do those definitions conflict (Aja-Agwu, 2011).

Concept of National Security

Buzan (2012) sees national security as the "survival and pursuit of freedom from threats and the ability to maintain a nation's independence, identity and functional integrity against forces of change that are seen as hostile". National security is best described as a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and well-being. It is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory, to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms. All through there is often a legitimate military dimension to national security, Further studies have proven that national security cannot be measured by military parameters alone. It is also a function of economic strength, political cohesiveness, social equity, cultural outreach, and environmental soundness. The security dilemma is not peculiar or unique to Third World Countries and Nigeria in particular, but a universal concern particularly in these contemporary times of growing interdependence, globalization, shared danger posed by weapons of mass destruction and varying nature of terrorist acts. Since the end of the cold war in 1989, there has been a serious debate over the redefinition of national security to respond to new global challenges.

The debate is essentially premised on the need to focus more on political threats posed by regional, ethnic and religious conflicts-as a result of explosion in global interdependence, communication and information technology and crisis on public world order. Apart from the issue at stake-the menace of the Boko Haram sect, order security problems currently confronting the nation have been identified to include political and election conflicts, socio economic agitations, ethno-religious crisis, ethnic militias, boundary disputes, cultism, criminality and organized crimes. These problems individually and collectively constitute threat to the peace, security and development of the country. These have implications for the continuity and survival of the nation's nascent democracy. Indeed, the question has been, whose interest does national security serves in Nigeria? According to Olukoshi (2014) and Imobighe (2013) states and dominant class interests obviously overshadowed national security in Nigeria. The security thrust is often directed toward the interests of the governing class and their propertied allies while most Nigerians are left high and dry and alienated from the security processes.

The bad state of national security in Nigeria has become more alarming than the issue of power and energy in the country. It finds explanation at the rate in which armed robbery, kidnapping, adoption, religious fanaticism, political assassination and other criminal act have become the rampant. A situation where these brigands demonstrate superior fire power to the police is critical

and warrison and that can only serve to dampen the moral of the law enforcement agencies. There is no gain-saying the fact that Nigerian government has been very careless over security matters,for instance, the porous nature of Nigeria's borders is one of the challenges of the national security system. For too long, the borders have been thrown open as of 1980s to all manner of aliens from Niger, Chad and Sudan is very prominent in most of the cities and towns of northern Nigeria. Most migrated to Nigeria without Nigerian immigration ministry actually challenging their identities. Perhaps, Nigerian government open its flanks to these nations in the spirit of one in brotherhood-Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) but fails to realize that these countries are strong members of Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and are capable of coming in to the country to indoctrinate the Muslim youths in the northern region. The United States is markedly known as the melting point in relation to cultural assimilation or multiculturalism, yet, it does not easily open its door to just any nation for security proposes.

Terrorism and the Nigerian National Security

Terrorism has created pervasive fear, suspicion and mutual distrust that permeated the ethno-religions structure of the country. Ethno-religions cleavages created in the past, condition that resulted in violent sectarian and inter and intra communal clashes in several parts of the country from the civil war, which by far was the most devastating to just which the most is recurring in this century; Nigeria's unity has always been fragile (Edward, 2013). Already, prominent religious leaders have begun calling the division of Nigeria along religious lines akin to the partition of Nigeria and Sudan (Peterson, 2013). The spates of bombings especially in churches deeply affect the existing harmony between flowers of the two faiths in Nigeria. Only in 2013, the President of CAN Ayo Oritsejafor declared that Boko Haram is an organized and orchestrated attempt to foist Islam on the secular Nigerian state; a move which in his own word amounts to "a declaration of Jihad against Christians" in the country.

Another worrying dimension is the psychological and economic siege fostered by this fear and mutual distrust in the country. In an already pauperized region ravaged by poverty and bad governance, the gradual economic evisceration of the north would compound the existing security problem of the country. Kano which has become another epicenter of Boko Haram terrorism is the largest city in northern Nigeria. Owing to the recent activities of the group and the consequent deployment of military troops to the city, economic activities have practically collapsed with every one living in fear of the next strike. The national economy, which even at the best times bore the land mark of slow growth and massive corruption, is showing signs of busting under the heavy pressure of higher spending occasioned by higher consumption and profligacy the gradual paralysis of all forms of economic activities in major northern Nigerian cities especially Kano, Kaduna, Jos and Maiduguri would therefore create greater problems in the country. The long-term danger of this to the stability of the country could only be projected based on the arguments put forward by many human security theorists like Olukoshi (2014) and Steward (2012), that it is economic imbalance manifested in such indicators as poverty, unemployment and inequality that lead to forms of violence in the security. Building on this

framework, there is the dilemma of predicting how a continuously lop-sided economy would in the future help address this kinds of problems. With the current treads, it would not require a soothsayer to say that problems such as unemployment and poverty would worsen, the social space would be strained, and the security situation would be even bleaker (Philip,2004).

The level of the hopelessness of the situation, captured best by the then President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan and his Chief of Defense Staff, Air Chief Marshal OluseyiPetinrin. The then President declared that Boko-Haram has infiltrated the top echelon of his government and that:

> *Some of them (terrorist) are in the executive arm of government; some are in the parliamentary/legislative arm of government while some of them are even in the judiciary. Some are also in the armed forces, the police and order security agencies. Some continue to dip their hands and eat with you and you won't even know the person who will point a gun at you or plant a bomb behind your house. That is how complex the situation.*

The Chief of Defense Staff in February at a meeting of Security Chiefs from ECOWAS countries admits to the links between Boko-Haram and Al-Qaeda. According to him, "we have been able to link the activities of the Boko-Haram sect to the support and training the sect received from Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb. Coming from the nation's top security chief, one is tempted to consider Boko Haram not only as aanatic religious organizations, but highly organized sophisticated financially strong and better army than the Nigerian security agencies combined together. Here in lays the danger for regional powers like Nigeria that relies exclusively on the deterrence and force projection as principle component of their security strategy.

When examining the prospect of Nigeria continuous integrity, quit often, analysis rely on tension inherent in the multi religious set up of the country. No greater evidence is needed to support these conclusions than the present state of inter religion harmony between various faith in the country, which stand at its lowest. Boko Haram surge fuel sinister faith march towards a very hot war. But a clearer understanding of the complex reality of Nigeria would reveal that these conclusions neither correct nor possible. Realities on the ground make any partition of Nigeria along religious or ethnic boundaries simply impossible. For example, none of the six geo-political zones in the country could claim to be exclusively inhabited by either a single ethnic group or followers of a single religion. In many cases, even within a single family, adherents to different religions exist. It is therefore unclear how the country could break up along either ethnic or religious lines (Peterson, 2012 & Anderson, 2014). The people are so interwoven and dependent upon each other that it is quite impossible to break them up.

There terrorist like Boko Haram has yet to metamorphose in to an existential threat to Nigeria's integrity. It is a threat which if left to fester on, is capable in the long run of damaging the already weakened basis of the country's fragile unity. This would not come in the form of another civil war or partition of the country along ethnic and religious lines as many people are warn to

project. It would come through two ways. First, through how the people would continue to live in a perpetual fear paralyzing all forms of socio-economic activities. Second, through gradual economic evisceration; this would create greater problems and sustain alienation, especially among the unemployed youth. These would be the greatest threat to the stability of the country. So far as terrorism is first and foremost designed to cultivate fear among the people, then no doubt Boko Haram has succeeded beyond any measure (Steward, 2012).

Theoretical Framework

The theories guiding this work are: Systems theory and Relative deprivation theory. The system analysis of the political system popularized by David Easton is adopted as a theoretical approach underpinning the study. The system theory is an analogy that shows a collection of interrelated parts which forms some whole. The idea is that if all the parts are working effectively the overall objectives can be achieved. A system can be open or closed. Nigeria is an open system. A key feature of open systems is their interdependence on the environment which may be relatively stable or relative uncertain at a particular point in time. This feature is of considerable importance to political and economic system which needs to adapt to the changing environment if they are to flourish. Nigeria needs the Northern economy to achieve her economic objectives. The focus of the approach is on the analysis of factors and forces that engender stability and instability in the political system strengthens its relevance to explaining the deep linkage between the dysfunctionality in governance and the challenges of poverty, inequality and insecurity in Nigeria. The political system within the Eastonian framework is an input and out-put mechanism which deals with political decisions and activities and performs integrative and adaptive functions relevant to the transformation of the society (Johari, 2011). Moreover, the mix of the environment, citizens' demand and support (inputs), and the policy output from the system are core factors that affect the structures and processes involve in the authoritative allocation of values and are thus fundamental to the stability and survival of the political system (Johari, 2011).

The centrality of citizens' demand and support (inputs) and policy output to the failure of democratic governance in Nigeria and the attending social tensions and security threats it provokes is the major concern of the study. The inputs in the political system according to Easton consist of citizens' demands on the polity and the support they extend to the system. Supposedly, inputs in this context refer to those demand made by the Boko Haram. Demands made upon the political system by the political elites and leadership is with-in inputs. Meanwhile, supports entail the structures that enable the political system to manage demands put on it, while outputs relate to those demands that are converted into authoritative policies and decisions. Importantly, obtaining a balance among these critical variables of the political systems germane to its capacity to overcome inevitable challenges pose by the various forces from within, as well as the maintenance of stability and survival of the polity. Conversely, the inability of the political system to address critical demands from the Boko Haram, or respond positively to important feedback from its policy outputs have the capacity to undermine support

for it. Moreover, intra-elite conflicts regarding policy articulation or allocation of scarce resources, preference for elites demands and inability of the structures and institutions of the system to manage citizens' demands equitably can engender popular distrust, instability and stresses of the political system (Johari, 2011).

The political leadership is characterized by blatant personalization of power, predatory, parochial, prebendal and patrimonial dispositions (Jega, 2007). These ills no doubt undermine popular participation and the critical role of the masses in setting the agenda of governance. The dominant role of the political elites in setting, shaping and articulating governmental policies at the expense of the general interests of the populace erodes public support in democratic governance and policies as the masses perceive and equate democratic governance with representing the interest of the ruling elites (Olaniyi, 2001). The fact that in most cases the outcome of the elitist imposed policies consist of widespread unemployment, corruption and poverty tend to worsen the peoples' sense of alienation and frustration in the political system, which often translate into disobedience of the state an the resort to violence as a means to challenge the legitimacy of the state. This explains in part the Boko Haram militancy in the North. It is within this context that the worsening social tensions, economic inequality, poverty and increased spate of insecurity in the country since Jonathan's administration.

Relative deprivation is the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes to be entitled. It refers to the discontent people feel when they compare their positions to others and realize that they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled than those around them (Davis, 2011). Some scholars of social movements explain their rise by citing grievances of people who feel deprived of what they perceive as 'values' to which they are entitled. Similarly, individuals engage in deviant behavior when their means do not match their goals. Relative deprivation theory holds that instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieved welfare leads men to violence (Claire, 2011). Claire went further to provide a psychological approach to explain how collective discontent is manifested in violence. According to him, the primary source of human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration aggression mechanism. The anger induced by frustration is a motivating force that disposes men to aggression, irrespective of its instrumentalities. In the words of Omer Taspinar (2012), Relative deprivation is the gap between high expectations and missing opportunities. To him, social, cultural, political and economic awareness grows at the heart of relative deprivation and this in turn fuels expectations. When these expectations are not forthcoming, the deprived could resort to violence to seek redress. All the views expressed boils down to the major thrust of the relative deprivation theory which holds that 'when people are deprived of things which they deem valuable in the society whether money, justice, status or privilege join social movements with the aim of redressing their grievances'.

When applied to the Boko Haram insurgence in the north, we submit that the loss of a spiritual leader in the person of Mohammed Yusuf deprived the sect members of a role model, source of inspiration and a spiritual guide whom the sect boldly needed at the formative stage to nurture and grow the new faith. The arrest and subsequent death of some sect members in the hands of security agents was to the group, a deprivation of the right to life of their loved ones

and brotherly love and affection which those deceased provided while they were still alive. Furthermore, the refusal of the Federal government to fully abolish western education and allow for an Islamic model was to the sect, a deprivation of the right to home grown model of education which will conform to the custom and tradition of the Islamic faith. The refusal of the Federal government led by Dr. Goodluck Jonathan to sign and thus make way for the immediate establishment of the Islamic state for the entire north was to them, a deprivation of the right to self-governance/ rule as Jonathan's presidency was seen by them as an imposition of an unbeliever to rule over the Muslim territory. Also, the refusal of Christian minority to leave the north was to the sect, a deprivation of the right to a territorial integrity devoid of sinful infidels who according to the sect pollute and profane a holy territory of 'Allah' the only God.

Method of Data Collection

For this study, information was collected using secondary sources of data collection. The secondary source of data used for this research work comprises of those collected from published textbooks, papers, Journal such as social sciences, business, management and government Journals, online materials, articles as well as seminar papers were used to get relevant information.

Findings

From our research and study, these are our findings:

(1) That the northern economy before Boko Haram terrorist activities was and used to be a bubbling and thriving economy but now is grounded to a halt; consider these examples.

(a) The transport sector – road and air – thrives very much. Road transport fetch a transporter of 13 seater bus the range of N40 – 45, 000 a week on two trips while the Nigeria air line industry was estimated to be making about N3 billion very day. But now analysts say that half of this amount is lost daily. Passenger traffic to north has reduced drastically dealing a big blow to this sector (Madlion, 2012, Innocent and Ibietan, 2012). It takes much more effort to get passengers to fill just a 13 seater bus going to the North.

(b) The tourism sector which ranked first in the country Nigerian and generates approximately N80 billion annually has been held stand still. The famous Argungu fishing festival, Yankari Games Reserves, the Mambila Plateau, the tomb of Othman Dan-Fodio, all of which attracts tourists from within and outside the country have been paralyzed alongside the various economic activities within value chain (NTDC, 2012).

(c) The infrastructural sub-sector of the northern economy has been devastated. This is because a good number of foreign and local contractors across the various northern states engaged in the construction of roads, bridges, housing estate development, the dams, National Integrated Power projects and rail way track rehabilitation have either abandoned sites or relocated to other states. This represents real setback to the economy of the region and pushes unemployment higher as thousands of youth who would have been engaged by them now sit idle.

(d) The commercial sector which was once booming now witnesses a dwindling fortune. The commercial sub-sector which covers the small and medium scale enterprises, local markets, road side shops and stores within the affected states have been closed down because most of these businesses are owned by southerners most of whom are Igbos. Chinedu (2012) noted that 73.3% of business has partially closed operations in northern Nigeria because of this insecurity. This represents huge capital flight from northern economy in both human and financial terms. The most affected states in this regard are Borno, Yobe, Kano and Sokoto. Kano for example serves as a commercial nerve centre not only for the north but also neighbouring Countries like Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Western Sudan for past 500 year before evolution of Nigeria. Obeche (2012) noted that some $15 billion do flow through Kano's market each year and two million traders used to arrive daily from Nigeria and neighbouring countries selling goods from factories in the south or imported from Asia. It has the oldest and biggest multi billion naira textile market known In the sub-Saharan African – The Kanti Kwari market. But now because of the Boko Haram activities the market is stifled. Kano economy has crashed, Business is fizzling, income generated has dwindled. People find it difficult to make ends meet. Most times people come to market without selling anything. (Babajide, 2012) (IRIN news 2012, Eme and Ibietan 2012).

(e) In the core service sector, schools, hospitals, hotels, parks and recreational outfits are going down. Foreign students are relocating down to the south; many doctors have transferred to other peaceful states, hotels and parks now records low turn-out of visitors. All these portend losses to northern economy.

Before now there are more than enough Human resources for business and production including professionals in different service sectors. But now some of them have lost their lives resulting in mass exodus from the north to the south for safety. As of now, there is no direct evidence that those who migrated because of insecurity have returned to the northern states they fled. The Health, banking and insurance, and Education sector have crumbled. Even vacancy announcement with attractive salary and benefits are not responded to (Madlion, 2012).

(f) The Agricultural sector is not left out. Most northerners are known to be engaged in this sector. Agricultural output is dwindling greatly. Farmers in Kaduna, Plateau, and Sokoto no longer go to farm for

fear of what will happen to them. Presently, the northern economy is crippled.

It will take 20 years to recover from the current predicament the north has found itself (Chiendu 2012).

Discussion of Findings

The negative effect of the of the Boko Haram terrorist activities to the northern economy now is that it has stifled normal process of trade and investment to the northern economy, the effect has been intense so much so that presently it has created a suppressive and crippled

economy. It will take at least 20 years to recover from the current predicament in which the northern region has found itself (Chiedu 2012)(2) That if the Boko Haram terrorist activities continue the possible negative effect will be a systemic distortion of the existing economic pattern and structure in the northern region, devastated economy as a result of loss of lives, properties, mass exodus of non-indigenes as well as indigenes, death/decline in investments and tourism, transportation, agriculture and commercial activities, dearth of professionals and artisans. The northern economy will be gone and the northern region will gradually disappear.

(i) On the Nigerian economy – historically each region in Nigeria complements the other. What the north lacks the South provides if this Boko Haram activities persists it will alter this economic symphony. If the suppression, crippling and systematic distortion done to northern economy is transmitted to other regions of Nigeria, the negative effect it will have on the Nigerian economy are: Bad macroeconomic environment and instability suppressive economy which will complicate Nigeria business climate and make it investor unfriendly- both foreign and local, widening of the gap between the north and other regions greatly, cost of living and value of properties will be very high at the back of pressure. Reduction in the flow of foreign Direct investment, break down of industrial production, hindering greater productivity and meeting the nations production target, wastages, exacerbate the already bleak years for investors in the Nigerian stock exchange, decline in economic growth and development – already the Nigeria GDP is regressing -, high incidence of poverty and unemployment, foreign investors will fold their mats for exodus.

If this Boko Haram terrorist activities continue the northern economy will collapse completely because trade and investment will be stifled, the economy and the economic objectives of Nigeria including the vision 20:2020 will be a mirage and will not be achieved and consequently the Nigerian economy will collapse, the nation will no longer compete favourably in the global mayhem this happens, Nigeria will attain the status of a failed state, if authorities concern will not take serious political will to address the security challenges in Nigeria, because no society will developed in the world without effective security structure in that country.

Conclusion

The paper attempted to conceptualize the terms and unravel the immediate and remote causes of terrorist (Boko Haram) activities in the recent times. It explored the issues of Nigeria's national security and terrorism, evolution of the Islamic sect and some of the reasons the government is unable to tackle the problem of insecurity in the nation. The paper submit that there is the need to design appropriate tactical initiatives to properly address the problems of national security system in Nigeria which include among others, investing heavily in intelligence gathering. There is the need to break the barrier of security insurgencies by developing a scientific methods and effective machinery to checkmate terrorist acts in the country. The present administration should intensify efforts to provide inclusive governance and redirect the nation's resources mainly to the marginalized and less developed areas of the country. Promoting fair and balanced development in the country is imperative to stability and legitimacy of any government.

Recommendation

Our study showed that Boko Haram capitalizes on popular frustration with leaders, poor government service delivery, and dismal living conditions of many northerners. Based on these insights we hereby make the following recommendations:

1. The Boko Haram crisis is already having domestic domino effect concerted effort is needed at this stage so as to forestall a spillover effects to the other region. The economic cost of government's inaction would be utterly calamitous. To this end, a fact-finding commission, involving all major stakeholders should be convened to interact with all those who are directly or remotely connected to Boko Haram so that the spate of violence can stop.

2. There is also urgent need to make leadership in the north to show deeper concern for the problem at hand. They must reach out to Boko Haram leadership who live among them and find ways of talking to them to drop their guns and bombs. This is important because the economy in the north and indeed Nigeria is under great threat and the time to act is now.

3. Since poverty and unemployment are among the root cause of Boko Haram insurgence there is an urgent need for a robust social protection scheme with special preference for the north. Food, shelter, health care and employment creation should be the bedrock of this scheme. Women, children and youths should be the target they should be empowered through vocational training. While mosque, churches, and NGOs should be utilized. The North need to know that the president is going extra-ordinary length to fix their problem.

4. Government should redouble its effort at Nation building, take a hard look at the root causes of the current problems in order to find lasting solution to Boko Haram insurgency and other terrorist group.

5. An improved intelligence gathering is needed to curb future violence. What we are witnessing in Nigeria are the consequences of lack of national intelligence security system that fails to recognize that contemporary system demands more reliable and timely intelligence than guns and armoured personnel carriers.

6. Government should as a matter of urgency review its current approach and expand its effort to combat the militant activities and be more responsive to issues of security by genuinely tackling them to minimize their dangerous implications, thus improving the investment climate.

7. The popular claim by the top northerners that disgruntled and unscrupulous extremists from Chad and Niger constitute the majority of the sect members should not be treated with kid gloves. With regards to this; the federal government must strengthen our custom service to tighten our borders and solicit for the co-operation of the government of Niger and Chad to check border movements.

8. There is need for a comprehensive national data base to capture relevant data which would aid in documentation and monitoring of the general populations.

9. Government will have to develop a new social compact with its northern citizens and evolve an economic recovery strategy to complements its security strategy.

10. We reject in its totality the call for amnesty for the Boko Haram Sect as it will send a bad signal to other militia groups like OPC and MOSSOB to the effect that the government of Nigeria understand only the language of violence and they will want to toe the same line.

11. We support the current state of emergency declared in the most affected states. However, the defense headquarters must ensure that their operations are in line with internationally recognized best practices to avoid gross violation of human rights.

To this end the researchers are very confident that if these recommendations which are unambiguous, down to earth and far reaching are implemented religiously, in no distant time, Sokoto- the Seat of the Caliphate will regain its spiritual relevance, Kano will become a bedrock of economic activities again, the beautiful savannah of Adamawa will blossom and a dew of peace shall calm the boiling atmosphere of Borno while the economy of the northern region will flourish again, the whole nation will be better for it.

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